

Equal Rights

VOL. XI, No. 51
FIVE CENTS

SATURDAY,
JANUARY 31, 1925



DORIS STEVENS

Vice-President of the National Woman's Party and a Life Member. She is the author of "Jailed for Freedom" and in the recent Women for Congress Campaign acted as Campaign Manager. Within the week she has addressed distinguished gatherings in Washington and Baltimore.



Feminist Notes

Women M. P.'s Win in Finland

DUE largely to the work of Mrs. Hedvig Gerhard, chairman of the Committee on Labor Legislation of the Parliament of Finland, that nation has since 1920 required every rural community to appoint a midwife to serve the people on a salary. The salary fixed was low, but in 1924 a Government bill was introduced to increase it to 7000 Finnish marks a year, and also made it obligatory on municipalities to provide decent housing for the midwives. The bill, however, was unsatisfactory to the women members of Parliament, who introduced a private bill making the salary 8000 marks and making more precise the provision concerning "decent" housing. Most of the provisions of this bill were adopted in preference to the Government measure. The new law contains the salary and housing provisions of the private bill, and furthermore bestows on midwives who have reached the age of 60 a pension of 4500 marks. This is looked upon as a great victory for the women M. P.'s.

Education in Japan

JAPAN has forty women's publications, of which one, a weekly, has one million circulation, and another, a monthly, has two hundred thousand. Equal compulsory education has been in force in Japan for 70 years, with the result that only 1 per cent. of the population of the empire is illiterate.

Trying to Push France Ahead

IN petitioning for municipal suffrage, the National Council of French Women has called the attention of M. Chauteux, Secretary of the Interior, and of Prime Minister Herriott to the fact that "France is one of the countries where women are most subjected by their legal disabilities." They say further that it saddens and humiliates French women to come in contact with foreign women and learn how in family life, social activities and professional activities they are held to be legally inferior.

Persia Awakening

FEMINISM has invaded Persia. An organ, *The Persian Feminist Review*, has been established. The editor and manager is Madam Dolatabadi.

Hawaii Abreast of the Times

HAWAII has elected the first woman to the territorial legislature. She is Mrs. Rasolie Keliinui, elected on the Republican ticket from the Island of Kauai.

Latin-American Progress

THE United States is by no means the only nation allowing women citizens to marry foreigners without loss of citizenship, nor was it the first to take such a step. The same is allowed in Argentine, Brazil, Chile, Uruguay and Columbia, not as the result of a special law as here, but as a constitutional right beyond the reach of fickle legislators.

London Women Fight "Menace"

THE Women's Freedom League of London is waging war upon the common police court practice by which women accused of "soliciting" or "annoying" are convicted and imprisoned on police testimony alone, when the person bringing the charge fails to appear to testify. The league's position is that no woman or man should be so convicted unless the person "solicited" or "annoyed" appears and substantiates the charge. The league declares the present practice a menace to all women, making the streets actually unsafe for them. The arrest of a respectable woman by officious policemen and imprisonment over night has given vitality to the movement.

Moslems Demand Equality

MOHAMMEDAN residents of Madras, India, are vigorously protesting against a local compulsory primary education act which excepts Mohammedan girls from its provisions. The exception was due to the prevailing impression that Mohammedans were opposed to equality in education. This proves to have been an error. Educated Musselman women are leading the protest.

Backward Ceylon

EQUALITY lags in Ceylon. Although equal educational opportunities are provided for boys and girls, and there are but few girl illiterates, women are barred from voting for local officials or the legislative council. The Women's Indian Association has asked the Government of Ceylon to take steps to abolish this discrimination.

Woman Heads State Board

AN Oklahoma woman is the first woman in the United States to attain the position of chairman of a State Industrial Commission. She is Mrs. Faye L. Roblin of Oklahoma City, for several years a member of the commission, and recently elected chairman. The commission has charge of the administration of the workmen's compensation law in the State.

Governor Ferguson Assumes Office

MRS. MIRIAM AMANDA FERGUSON, the first woman Governor of Texas, took the oath of office on January 20 at the State House at Austin. Her inauguration address was brief and contained little more than the usual pledges of an incoming administration. On the 22d she delivered her first message to the Legislature. Therein she advocated special taxation of tobacco in all forms for the benefit of the public schools, a drastic reduction of automobile license charges, an increased gasoline tax and economy in administration of public funds. She insisted that bootlegging drug stores must be driven out of business, but at the same time said that the prohibition laws would be enforced only so far as public sentiment demanded.

Her announcement that she intended to put something of a woman's mercy in dealing with convicts seems to have gone against the grain of the hard-boiled, sinless members of the Texas Legislature who have indulged in criticism. She granted four paroles on her first day, but as she had innumerable appeals for clemency to deal with, it does not appear that this number was unusually large.

Women Lawyers Hold Reception

THE Women's Bar Association of the District of Columbia recently held a reception in honor of the judiciary. Justice Stafford of the District Supreme Court said in addressing the association that a few years ago he spoke on "Women Under the Law," but that in view of the trend of the times a few years hence he might be speaking on "The Law Under Women."

A resolution was passed by the association calling upon President Coolidge to appoint Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt to a Federal judgeship in the Northern District of California. Mrs. Willebrandt is now an assistant attorney-general of the United States.

California Women Urge Appointment

CALIFORNIA women are actively pushing the appointment of Mrs. Willebrandt, now assistant United States attorney-general in charge of prohibition enforcement, to a Federal judgeship in California, for which she has been suggested by eminent politicians.

Women Priests in Denmark

ABILL authorizing ordination of women to the priesthood is to be introduced in the Danish Parliament, according to an article in the *Berlinske Tindende*.

Mrs. Ferguson's Disabilities Removed

THE petition of Governor Miriam A. Ferguson of Texas for the removal of her disabilities as a married woman has been granted. In Texas it is a general rule that a single woman has full contractual power, but in the eyes of the law marriage makes her incapable of such power and she is placed under disabilities akin to that of infants and idiots. So Mrs. Ferguson petitioned the court to free her from her disabilities as a married woman in order that the validity of her contracts and other official acts as Governor might not be called into question.

The decree of the District Court of Bell County states:

"On this * * day * * came on to be heard the petition of Miriam A. Ferguson, a married woman, in due form setting out grounds, and praying for the removal of her disabilities as a married woman; and the court having heard the petition, and it ap-

By Burnita Shelton Matthews

pearing that the same was brought with the consent of her husband, the said James E. Ferguson, and that the said James E. Ferguson is willing that the disabilities of coverture of Miriam A. Ferguson be removed, and it appearing to the court that it is necessary and will be advantageous to the said Miriam A. Ferguson to have the said disabilities of coverture removed and that she be declared a feme sole for trading and mercantile purposes.

"It is therefore ordered, adjudged and decreed by the court that the said disabilities of coverture be removed and that the said Miriam A. Ferguson be and she is hereby declared a feme sole for trading and mercantile purposes."

After Mrs. Ferguson's nomination as Governor the contention was made that the law excludes her from office on account of her sex. To establish her eligibility it was necessary for her to engage

in litigation in the District Court of Bell County, then in the Third Court of Civil Appeals, and finally in the Supreme Court of Texas. Moreover, this litigation had to be carried on in the midst of her campaign for election, thus placing her at a great disadvantage. The election over, she commenced court action for the removal of her disabilities as a married woman.

Florida, Michigan, Nebraska and many other States have laws similar to those of Texas limiting the contractual powers of married women. Therefore women candidates and office holders in some of the States may have to experience the obstacles which Mrs. Ferguson has now overcome for the women of Texas. If the principle of equal rights between men and women were written into our National Constitution, it would mean that a woman's eligibility to office and her capacity to contract could not be challenged on the ground of sex.

Senator Wadsworth Receives Deputation

FIFTY women of the New York Branch of the National Woman's Party, interviewed Senator James Wadsworth, Jr., at the Hotel Belmont in New York on Saturday morning, January 17, concerning the equal rights amendment, and found that the Senator who had distinguished himself by his opposition to suffrage had gone further toward belief in equal rights than might have been expected of him.

Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, Mrs. Clarence Smith, New York State chairman, and Mrs. Berenice Marks Stearns, member of the New York City Committee of the Woman's Party, were the spokesmen of the delegation and presented to Senator Wadsworth in an impressive way the reasons he should support the national equal rights amendment. Mrs. Havemeyer began by telling the Senator that equal rights is as inevitable as woman suffrage.

"The advance of women within your own generation," said Mrs. Havemeyer, "must indicate to you that the discriminations of law and custom based on prejudice and tradition will finally be wiped away and women will at last stand on complete equality with men. We ask you to help speed this work and thus bring great good to men and women alike. Your support of this movement, Senator Wadsworth, will mark you as a man of progress."

Mrs. Stearns called to Senator Wadsworth's attention the fact that the Woman's Party is composed of women

of all political faiths who are united on the one point of removal of discriminations against women. She told him the exact status of the amendment in the Senate, and said women found encouragement in the support of a powerful member of the Senate, Senator Curtis, the Republican floor leader, who sponsored the equal rights resolution, and in the unequivocal declaration in favor of the amendment of Senator Cummins, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee.

"You are in a position of power also, Senator Wadsworth," concluded Mrs. Stearns, "and we, women of all parties, have come to you today to ask you to use your power in the United States Senate to help give women equality in the laws with men."

As the last speaker, Mrs. Clarence Smith reviewed many of the discriminations existing in the laws of various States, and said that the only inclusive and permanent way of removing them was through national constitutional amendment. Mrs. Smith ended by saying:

"The present Secretary of State of New York recently publicly declared that you, Senator Wadsworth, caused her nomination on the grounds that the time had come when greater numbers of women should take public office. This causes us to hope that you will go further and help to remove discriminations from the law which hamper women in public life and

in every line of endeavor. All we ask is equal opportunity with men, a fair field, and no favor."

Senator Wadsworth immediately agreed that there are discriminations in the laws which should be removed, but then added he believed that there are provisions favoring women which should be retained. Moreover, he stated his belief that discriminations should be dealt with piecemeal rather than in a sweeping fashion by constitutional amendment. He had talked with lawyers, he said, who were of the opinion that great confusion would be caused in the courts by the adoption of the Equal Rights Amendment. He advised cautious procedure in the State legislatures.

To this Mrs. Elizabeth Selden Rogers and Mrs. Marcus M. Marks both replied that the Woman's Party could not be persuaded to spend the next seventy-five years in obtaining from the State legislatures piecemeal concessions, which the legislature of the next year were quite likely to repeal, when all legal discriminations against women could be removed completely and finally by amendment to the National Constitution.

Among the members of the delegation were: Mrs. H. O. Havemeyer, Mrs. Clarence M. Smith, New York chairman of the Woman's Party; Mrs. Berenice Marks Stearns, Mrs. Elizabeth Selden Rogers, Mrs. Marcus M. Marks, Mrs. John Winters Brannan, and Mrs. Abram J. Rose, chairman, New York City Committee.

Equal Rights



OFFICIAL ORGAN
of the
National Woman's Party
Capitol Hill
Washington, D. C.

Published weekly
at 19 West Chase Street
Baltimore, Md.

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Entered as second-class matter at Postoffice,
Baltimore, Md., under Act March 3, 1879.

Subscription, \$2.00 A Year

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OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

To remove all forms of the subjection of
women.

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

"Men and women shall have Equal Rights
throughout the United States
and every place subject to its jurisdiction."

"Congress shall have power to enforce
this article by appropriate legislation"

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 21.]
[House Joint Resolution Number 75.]

Introduced in the Senate, December 10, 1923,
by SENATOR CHARLES E. CURTIS.
Introduced in the House of Representatives,
December 13, 1923,
by REPRESENTATIVE D. R. ANTHONY.

Face to the Dawn

WITHIN recent days it has become apparent that the prejudice against granting Equal Rights to American men and women is disappearing with more rapidity than could have been anticipated twelve months ago. Opposition that seemed adamant is slowly but surely giving way before the invincible demands of justice. Years of hard work on the part of the National Woman's Party is beginning to bear fruit and concrete results may be looked for in the near future. One of the interesting signs of the times is Senator Ernst's invitation to the National Woman's Party to present the argument for Equal Rights on the morning of February 6th before the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, which has the Lucretia Mott Amendment in hand. Senator Ernst is chairman of that committee, and at considerable inconvenience to himself, it is understood, has arranged the hearing, so it is of special importance that a large and representative group of women be on hand to interpret to the committee the significance of any action the committee may take regarding the Lucretia Mott Amendment. The schedule of hearings on Equal Rights before Congressional committees has now become so elaborate that it may be helpful to present it categorically.

On Wednesday, February 4th, at 10 o'clock in the morning, the Woman's Party will explain its support of the Equal Rights Amendment to the full House Judiciary Committee, of which Mr. Graham of Pennsylvania is chairman.

The following day, Thursday, February 5th, the opposition will be given an opportunity to present its rebuttal before the same committee.

On the morning of Friday, February 6th, the Woman's Party will appear before the subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, of which Senator Ernst is chairman, to present the affirmative argument for the Lucretia Mott Amendment, and on the next day, Saturday, February 7th, the opposition will for the second time be permitted to offer its rebuttal.

Precisely why the opposition should have an opportunity to state its case twice before the committee is not known. Doubtless, no objection will be made to granting the Woman's Party equal facilities for presenting the affirmative aspects of the case in rebuttal.

To the members of the National Woman's Party we appeal to take advantage of the singular opportunity that our Legislative Committee has made possible. It is not often that one can witness the dawn of a new era in human affairs; the first faint promise of the coming day. This will be an historic occasion. Let us participate in it.

Immortal Tasks

A WEEK is a long time in human affairs, or rather it is a long stretch for the human memory. The owner of one of the largest chains of newspapers in the United States says that a fortnight suffices to entomb in oblivion even the most thrilling news story print can carry. It is, therefore, almost like going into ancient history to discuss the eclipse that seven days ago held 20,000,000 people spellbound. Already the event has faded into insignificance, for all save a few astronomers and mathematicians.

Yet somewhere out among the stars moving majestically through infinite space the dark shadow that recently inspired such awe in human hearts has recommended its silent journey. Not until the year 2144 will it again traverse the same path on the earth's surface that it marked out in 1806 and on its recent visitation.

There is something gloriously bold that stirs the phlegmatic blood in the assurance that predicts convincingly the reappearance of this phenomenon long years after all mortal creatures of today shall have become dust and ashes. You and I will not be here to see, neither will our children nor our great-grandchildren, see the reappearance of this mighty stride through infinity. But it will come as it has come before, bearing mute testimony to the grandeur of the scheme of which we are a part.

In face of such sublimity the ordinary aspirations of mankind seem totally inconsequent. To make a name, to collect more goods than another, to occupy the highest seat in the synagogue—what does it matter amid the drifting sands of time? Permanent, not transitory, considerations alone compose in so supreme a setting. Immortal tasks amid immortal time. Out of the mighty marches of the past come those who offer us a task worth sharing. They are the seekers after Liberty. It is our opportunity, in the mundane light of now-a-day, to take the torch where it has fallen from their hands in death and bear it forward proudly.

Doris Stevens Speaks on Economic Equality

By Ruby A. Black

WOMEN'S first demand for equality in industry came, not from the National Woman's Party in 1921, but from the Women's National Industrial League in 1882, Doris Stevens, Vice-President of the Woman's Party, told the open forum at party headquarters on January 25.

Charlotte Smith, president of the Women's Industrial League at that time, appeared before the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, the predecessor of the American Federation of Labor, with the following demands:

1. Education for women in the trades and the professions.
2. Freedom to enter any occupation.
3. Equal wages for equal work.
4. Equality in the public service.
5. Co-operation with all labor associations in standardizing hours of labor.

Although Miss Smith spoke on behalf of 2,600,000 women workers, the men's labor movement did nothing about her demands. The next year she was permitted to sit in the convention, but was not allowed to vote. This time a resolution was adopted urging the unionization of women, but still nothing was actually done by the men to help the women organize, Miss Stevens said.

Prior to that time the women had been very active in the labor movement. When the loom was invented, the employers offered tremendous inducements to get women to work in the factories. They built factory-owned rooming houses, organized women's clubs and Sunday schools among the workers, and founded circulating libraries. The textile, shoe, and tobacco industries were the first in the United States into which women entered in great numbers, Miss Stevens said.

OF this early movement Miss Stevens pointed out the following incidents showing women's activities in organization: In 1825 the women factory workers organized; in 1831 the tailoresses had a strike; in 1883 the seamstresses in Baltimore struck; in the same year the Philadelphia sewing hands struck; in 1838 the women cotton workers struck at Dover, N. H.; in the Lowell, Mass., strike the same year, the women labor leaders urged their followers to rush the bank, parades and street meetings were held, and flaming women's rights speeches were made; in 1836 2,500 women workers of Lowell struck against a raise in board, demanding their employers increase wages to meet this increase in living expenses; this same year the Lynn women shoe binders trustingly sent two men to represent them at the Boston Central Labor Union,

and the president of the Lowell Women's Union went to the convention of the New England Workingmen's Convention. After her testimony on the conditions of work in the factories, she helped, even without the vote, to defeat the chairman of the committee, who had treated their appeal with contempt.

Soon afterward, three out of ten delegates to the First Industrial Congress at Boston were women.

"IN 1834," Miss Stevens said, "the first sentimental wail about women in industry was heard. The president of the New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Workingmen, declared that women were 'dragging out a life of slavery and wretchedness,' and that 'the farmers' daughters earned money, to be sure, but lost health, character and happiness.'"

"In 1835 'female labour' was in general condemned—by the men—as debasing to women and bringing 'destructive competition to the male labourers.' The next year the 'Committee on Female Labour,' consisting of men, reported: 'Labour is a physical and moral injury to women, and a competitive menace to men.' They recommended legislation to restrict women in industry."

"But women continued to gain in industry till the wars and famines of Europe, beginning about 1848, caused America to be flooded with male foreign labor. These foreign laborers underbid the women. The men's unions, however, set about to unionize the foreigners, but still refused to help unionize the women, or to admit them to their councils."

"The first 'protective' law for women was passed in Ohio in 1852. There are today fifteen States which have night-work laws for women only; six which have the 48-hour a week law for women only; thirteen which have a minimum wage law for women only, but of these only three, according to Dorothy Douglas in the *American Economic Review* for December, 1919, really provide a living wage."

"In those early days, when women proposed that organized labor consider such closely allied subjects as votes for women, men declared these questions extraneous, although their labor organizations were at the same time opposing 'the excessive distillation of ardent spirits,' the lottery systems, imprisonment for debt, and compulsory military service, were condemning charitable societies, were building up a press and a political party, and were working for free public education."

"Then Charlotte Smith appeared with her demands, which were disregarded. In 1891 there was only one woman organizer, and she was refused a place on the executive board of the body. Right down to the present women have continued to battle against the exclusion of women from certain A. F. of L. unions, making gains a little at a time."

"In 1903 the Women's Trade Union League was organized by William English Walling, who had seen a similar organization functioning in England. This organization, according to Alice Henry, consisted of women not themselves laborers, who were to interpret women in industry to the men's labor movement."

"The degree to which it has failed in becoming a more eloquent and articulate voice in the labor movement is perhaps due to its policy of serving the weak, primarily, instead of first helping the strong women's unions gain equal voice in the labor movement, and from this position of power organizing women in industry into unions, or gaining admittance for them into the unions from which they are now excluded."

MISS STEVENS recommended standards of work for persons in industry, not for women alone, and pointed to the eight-hour laws in Holland, Denmark, and in certain trades in England.

"Our statistics on night work are not scientific," she said. "These statistics compare the effect of night work on the health of women, where women have to work in the factory at night, and then keep house in the day, with the effect of night work on men, who can come home after their night's work to comparative rest and quiet."

"Until we standardize and professionalize housework, and can compare the physical condition of the woman who works at night and rests in the day with that of the man who works at night and rests in the day, we cannot have the basis for scientific conclusions."

Miss Stevens urged the standardization and professionalization of housework as a means of giving economic equality to women in the home.

"Being a wife," she said, "is not a profession, any more than being a husband is. Only when we divorce wifehood from housework, and when we free the marriage union from the entanglements of economic dependence can love have a chance."

Miss Stevens showed how household labor is gradually being taken out of the home and into the factory, and how in the upper and the middle economic classes provisions are now being made to take housework out of the hands of the wife,

professionalize and standardize it, and put it on a paid basis, so that women who work outside their homes need not have a double burden, and so that women who do housework can know the value of their economic contribution to the family.

"All such changes begin in the upper economic classes, and seep downward," she said. "While wifehood is not a profession, housekeeping is, and it must be

paid for. Rearing children is likewise a profession, and should be paid for. When both these occupations, so long held to be the peculiar province of women, are professionalized and paid for, they will be much better done. Unpaid labor is always inefficient labor."

Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley, chairman of the Homemakers' Council of the Woman's Party, presided, and spoke on the pro-

gram of the Party. She urged a full attendance at the hearing on the Equal Rights bill before the House Judiciary Committee in the House Office Building at 10 o'clock in the morning on February 4.

Margaret Whittemore, Vice-President of the Party, also spoke and urged the payment of dues and subscription to EQUAL RIGHTS.

A. A. U. W. Committee Makes Report

IT will be recalled that at the meeting of the American Association of University Women which was held in Washington last April the Association declined to take action on the recommendation to continue opposition to the proposed Constitutional Amendment for Equal Rights for women, and also resolved "That during the coming year the arguments for or against a women's Equal Rights Amendment be made the subject of study by the Association in all its branches."

In accordance with this resolution the Board of Directors appointed a committee of two, composed of M. Carey Thomas and Mary Van Kleeck, to prepare the material needed for this study.

In the October Journal of the A. A. U. W. a preliminary statement signed by Miss Van Kleeck was presented, which discussed chiefly the question of whether or not the Association should properly give consideration to controversial questions, such as the Equal Rights Amendment, "outside the educational field." No specific recommendation was made in this regard. The report states:

"Probably we would all agree that the Association should refrain from action in a controversial matter, which merely involves superficial and heated discussion of a transitory measure. But this kind of discussion could be avoided if the Association should decide to take action only on a subject whose content is within the scope of an established committee, with a definite program of careful study of that particular topic. The need is for a problem committee rather than a functional committee. A problem committee would be concerned, for instance, with certain defined phases of the social and economic status of women. It is not sufficient to classify a measure as legislative and refer it to the legislative committee unless a committee concerned with the subject is at work. If we had, for instance, a committee on the economic position of women which was continuously at work, then it would be a definite contribution to make a report on the subject of an amendment for Equal Rights in a scientific spirit worthy of the American Association of University Women.

"In line with this thought, your committee appointed on the specific subject of the proposed amendment has decided, with the consent of officers of the Association, not to allow an initial suggestion 'to prepare arguments for and against the Equal Rights Amendment.' We shall not debate with each other in the pages of the Journal. Working as a unit, we shall offer an outline of study of the fundamental considerations involved in a decision on this subject, and we shall seek to aid members, and to enlist their aid, in serving as a center for exchange of information, and for advice on bibliographies, procedure for study and practicable methods for organizing local discussion groups. The aim will be not merely to reach a decision on a specific proposal, but to stimulate a process of study which should lead in the end to a genuine and characteristic contribution by university women to the improvement of the social and economic status of women."

IN the January number of the Journal of the A. A. U. W. a second statement appears signed by both Ex-President Thomas and Miss Van Kleeck. As the report is of great significance to all American women, especially to those in the industrial field, and as many of the readers of EQUAL RIGHTS do not see the Journal of the A. A. U. W., this second statement is herewith reprinted in its entirety:

"Your committee is to discuss whether Equal Rights for women can best be secured by an amendment to the Constitution of the United States or by some other method, and also as an important part of the discussion whether the amendment proposed by the National Woman's Party, or some other amendment, will best secure Equal Rights for women. This difficult question of method must be decided on its merits as such without regard to the quality or quantity of its opponents. No great economic and social revolution like women's Equal Rights should be blocked by mere opinion. The women and men with vision were comparatively few who enfranchised women in all countries. The mere opposition of many working women and of many social

workers should not in itself be decisive, except in so far as the facts that they submit are convincing. If working women could be sure that their present gains could be safeguarded and their economic advancement hastened by an Equal Rights Amendment they would probably not oppose it. On the other hand, if those who are pressing the Equal Rights Amendment could be sure of the contrary, they would probably not advocate the amendment. It is a question that can be settled only by careful thought and investigation.

"What We Wish to Obtain. Your committee believes that as university women we are probably all agreed on certain rights that we wish to secure for ourselves and other American women, such as (a) the same rights as men to economic and social equality; Equal Rights of inheritance, property, earnings, contract; Equal Rights to compete with men for all Federal and State economic and civic positions of responsibility and power; equal pay for equal work; the same rights as men in our domestic life, equal right to marry and keep our jobs, equal right to our children during the life and after the death of our husbands; in brief, no economic or political discrimination between women and men on account of sex, maternity protection and children's aid allowances being regarded as a racial, not a sex, question equally important to men and women. (b) Such Equal Rights to be secured as soon as possible, so that after the age-long arrest of our free development we may begin to live. Unnecessary delay in securing them not to be tolerated. (c) Whatever method of securing Equal Rights may be decided on to be so safeguarded as not to imperil maternity protection, or children's aid allowances; and all proper protective legislation now in force for the women workers in industry who are at present admittedly unable to help themselves to be continued during the period of readjustment until the same results can be obtained by new methods. Present gains not to be lost.

"How to Secure Equal Rights. American women are not yet agreed among themselves as to the best method of se-

curing Equal Rights for women. It is tragic that when women's need is so urgent for united action on the part of all intelligent women, women appear on opposite sides when bills for the protection of exploited women factory workers or hearings on the Equal Rights Amendment come before unsympathetic legislators. Yet honest differences of opinion exist. Everyone who studies this question of method must recognize that the conflicting considerations involved require our most alert attention and presuppose for their consideration a kind of information that no one seems to have and that is extraordinarily difficult to obtain.

"Some of the Information We Need. We are informed that in 1920 five European countries wrote a Women's Equal Rights Bill into their constitutions—German, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Estonia, and Lithuania; also the free City of Danzig. How has it worked during the past four years? We do not yet know. We are told that British women are now working for a Women's Equal Rights Bill that was promised them by Lloyd George immediately after the war. We ought to know what it will cover and what abuses they think it will correct. In 1921 the State of Wisconsin passed a Women's Rights Law with certain important women's welfare exceptions allowed. How has it worked? Have these exceptions worked injustice to women? We are told that special protective legislation for women workers in many European countries is giving place to protective legislation for both men and women. Sophy Sanger, one of the leading women labor leaders in Great Britain, for some years in charge of compiling and analyzing the labor laws of all countries for the International Labor Office of the League of Nations at Geneva, wrote in March, 1924, in reply to a letter urging the representation of women on various bodies of the League of Nations:

"The time for exclusive labor legislation for women is past. We are now in an age which demands the highest possible standard of working conditions for all workers alike, whether men or women. In the old days labor legislation was so very largely concerned with women and children that there would have been a better case for insisting upon the presence of women merely as such on any bodies drawing up standards of legislation. For instance, practically all the laws regulating hours of work applied only to women and children. Now practically all countries have laws regulating the hours of men as well, and the question is considered as a matter of industrial organization, and not of the protection of the weaker groups of workers. The same point of view has developed in connection with night work. Night work is an anti-social system and should only

be permitted, whether for men or women, where absolutely essential. The prohibition of night work for women was extremely important historically, as in many countries it was the beginning of the regulation of hours of work. Where formerly women might be employed unlimited hours, under the Berne Night Work Convention at least they could not be employed more than 13 hours a day. But this is now ancient history, and the regulation of night work is a social and economic question in which the sex of the worker is only a minor consideration.'

"We ought to be familiar with European labor legislation and its results. We ought to be able to estimate how far the labor movement of the United States differs from the labor movement abroad in its attitude toward protective labor legislation for both men and women and whether this difference is likely to be permanent or temporary. More facts are needed also about the results of labor legislation for women in industry in the United States.

"Your committee has been able to find very little printed material that will be of service to the branches. The Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., and the Department of Industrial Studies of the Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22nd street, New York City, have collected much valuable information in regard to women in industry, but little of it has been tabulated from the point of view of our discussion and what has been published emphasizes the need of special protective labor legislation for women as follows: Three Bulletins of the Women's Bureau, No. 12, 'The New Position of Women in American Industry'; No. 15, 'Some Effects of Legislation Limiting Hours of Work for Women'; and No. 16, 'State Laws Affecting Working Women.' One of the strongest arguments for protective legislation for women in Miss Thomas' opinion is made by Miss Van Kleek in her article 'Women and Machines' in the February, 1921, *Atlantic Monthly*, reprinted by the Consumers' League of New York City, 289 Fourth avenue. The National Consumers' League has also published other literature in favor of protective legislation for women, such as 'Twenty Questions About the Proposed Equal Rights Amendment of the Woman's Party, 1923-1924,' compiled by Mrs. Florence Kelley, National Consumers' League, New York City. On the other side the National Woman's Party Headquarters, Capitol Hill, Washington, D. C., has published many leaflets dealing with different phases of the need for an Equal Rights Amendment and also with what is in their opinion the unfortunate consequences of protective legislation for women. Copies of these leaflets may be obtained for three or five cents. Among the leaflets that ought to be read, in Miss

Thomas' opinion, are the following: 'Declaration of Principles of the National Woman's Party'; 'The Lucretia Mott Amendment'; 'The Equal Rights Amendment and Special Laws for Working Women'; 'Equal Rights and Conscription'; 'The Closing of Occupations to Women'; 'Night Work for Women'; 'Longer Hours for Women'; 'Seats for Working Women'; 'The Woman's Party and the Minimum Wage for Women'; 'Special Privileges for Women'; 'What Women Won in Wisconsin'; 'An Argument for Equal Rights by a Federal Amendment'; 'How Rhode Island Laws Discriminate Against Women'; 'The English Woman's Campaign for Legal Equality' and Mrs. Sidney Webb's 'Industrial Equality.'

"As an instance of conflicting considerations which seriously affect our attitude toward an Equal Rights Amendment your committee is not in agreement as to the psychological effect of protective legislation applying to women only. Miss Thomas points out that obscure ancestral traditions and inherited inhibitions play an extraordinary part in our psychology and affect consciously and unconsciously our reaction to any great social change, such as the equal economic, social and political rights of women. She believes that the inferiority complex still persists in most women and in all men, even in our most ardent men feminists. She thinks that whether we regard special protective legislation for women temporarily necessary or not it is only fair to admit such legislation tends to reinforce in us and to create anew in the younger generation the opinion that adult women have not the same inalienable right to their economic job as men have, that as long as the conditions, hours, remuneration, time (day or night) of women's labor, and the occupations women may engage in may be regulated, separately from similar conditions affecting men's labor, by State Legislatures (on which, incidentally, women are not as a rule represented), this special protective legislation must unavoidably be reflected in the attitude of legislators, employees, school boards, men who compete with women for jobs, the general public and women toward the work of all women. Miss Thomas thinks that not only the interests of women in industry and in mercantile firms should be considered, but also the interests of all the other working women in the United States who must have a fair field for competition with men without discrimination. Miss Thomas believes that the danger of this protective attitude was well stated in the decision of the United States Supreme Court, in 1923; denying the legality of the minimum wage for women in the District of Columbia:

"We cannot accept the doctrine that women of mature age, *sui juris*, require

or may be subjected to restrictions upon their liberty of contract which could not lawfully be imposed in the case of men under similar circumstances. To do so would be to ignore all the implications to be drawn from the present-day trend of legislation as well as that of common thought and usage, by which woman is accorded emancipation, from the old doctrine that she must be given special protection or be subjected to special restraint in her contractual and civil relationship.' (Adkins v. The Children's Hospital, 261, U. S. 525, 1923.)

"Miss Van Kleeck believes that shortening the hours of labor or raising wages has enabled women in industry to increase their skill and efficiency and to become capable of promotion to higher positions. A labor law which accomplishes these results has the psychological effect of increasing the sense of power and independence of women in industry. Twenty years of investigation of industrial conditions affecting both men and women have convinced Miss Van Kleeck that, far from putting women at a disadvantage, a labor law which improves conditions for them also improves conditions

for men employed in the same establishment. But it should be added that an increasing body of labor legislation applies to both men and women. Minimum wage laws and laws limiting daily hours still apply to women only in this country, because men have preferred to trust to their trade unions to secure for them fair wages and short hours. Miss Van Kleeck believes that unless this policy changes, there should be no slackening of effort to secure these same results for women by labor laws, while working constantly also to strengthen the organization of women in trade unions. Both labor legislation and organization will tend to have a wholesome psychological effect in increasing women's power to make their way successfully in industry. To her the reasoning of the Supreme Court in favor of 'freedom of contract,' quoted above, in face of the complications of large-scale modern industry, is an anachronism. Facts of the present, not theories, must be our guide to larger freedom for women. Thus we come back to the need for all possible information and as to that need your committee is fully in accord."

News From The Field

THE Kansas City Branch of the National Woman's Party is sending Mrs. Fred Sutter of Kansas City to represent Missouri at the hearing on the Equal Rights Amendment before the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives on February 4. A meeting was held in Kansas City on January 15 in the interests of the hearing.

Miss Sanoma I. Schell addressed the branch on January 16, discussing women's need for equal opportunities in the business world.

Petitions are being sent to Congressmen Dyer and Major of Missouri, both of whom are on the House Judiciary Committee.

Many new members are coming into the Woman's Party in Missouri, according to Mrs. Estelle Balfour Bennett, Missouri chairman. Mrs. W. F. White is chairman of the Kansas City Branch.

Two bills will be introduced in the Missouri Legislature, one giving women the right to jury service, and one giving women teachers equal pay for equal work.

ON January 31 Mrs. William Kent will speak to a luncheon meeting at the Oakland Hotel, Oakland, Cal., at which Governor Richardson and thirteen Alameda county legislators will be present. She will discuss both the Federal Equal Rights Amendment and the California measures to be introduced.

HELENA NORMANTON, English barrister and feminist, was the guest of honor at a meeting of the New York City Committee at the home of Mrs. Eldon Bisbee on the evening of Thursday, January 22. Mrs. Normanton's subject was "Common Problems of English and American Women."

RUBY A. BLACK, an associate editor of EQUAL RIGHTS, spoke before the League for Industrial Democracy on Friday, January 23. Miss Black outlined the program of the National Woman's Party; spoke of the present status of the Equal Rights Amendment; told of the work being done in the State Legislatures toward removing specific discriminations against women; and illustrated the need for economic equality. Discussion followed the talk.

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RECEIPTS of National Headquarters, December 7, 1912, to January 15, 1925, \$1,285,166.38.

Contributions, membership receipts and other receipts, January 15 to January 24, 1925. (Half of membership fees are retained by the State Headquarters. The half of these fees sent to National Headquarters is listed below):

Per Ohio Branch:	
Mrs. E. F. S. Smith.....	\$0.50
Mrs. Bessie Arnold.....	.50
Mrs. Andrew Doffe.....	5.00
Miss Maud F. Bellar.....	5.00
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Per Equal Rights Committee:	
Dr. Donald R. Hooker, Md.....	200.00

Total receipts, January 15, 1925, to January 24, 1925.....\$6,231.13
Total receipts, December 7, 1912, to January 24, 1925.....\$1,291,397.51

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